

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-10

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FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3962

INFO USMISSION GENEVA

AMCONSUL ADANA

AMCONSUL ISTANBUL

AMCONSUL IZMIR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ANKARA 3455

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SNAR, TU

SUBJ: CONVERSATION WITH PRIME MINISTER--OPIUM POPPY BAN

BEGIN SUMMARY AND COMMENT: IN MAY 6 MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER, I DELIVERED PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE OF CONCERN OVER POSSIBLE TURKISH RECISION OF POPPY BAN. I STRONGLY REITERATED USG POSITION THAT BINDING AGREEMENT EXISTS BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS WHICH WOULD BE VIOLATED BY RECISION OF BAN. I AGAIN ARGUED THAT RECISION WOULD BE ONLY MINOR HELP TO LEGITIMATE GROWERS BUT MAJOR BONANZA TO CROOKS, THAT A RECISION WOULD SERIOUSLY UNDERMINE PROGRESS MADE IN USG DRUG CONTROL EFFORTS, AND THAT IT UNTHINKABLE THAT TURKEY WOULD GO BACK INTO POPPY PRODUCTION WHEN RESULTING CONGRESSIONAL REACTION COULD HAVE SUCH DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES ON US-TURKISH RELATIONS.

PRIME MINISTER EMPHASIZED THAT GOT SHARED PRESIDENT'S CONCERN AND THIS WHY DECISION PROCEED WITH BAN RECISION HAD NOT
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BEEN TAKEN UP UNTIL NOW. HE WENT ON TO ARGUE, HOWEVER, THAT IT

ESSENTIAL THAT SOME RECISION OF BAN BE EFFECTED, WHILE STRESSING BELIEF THAT THIS TIME ADEQUATE SAFEGUARDS COULD BE INSTALLED, HOPEFULLY WITH SUPPORT AND GUIDANCE OF USG. HE ASSURED ME THAT BASIC GOT DECISION ON THIS MATTER WOULD NOT RPT NOT BE TAKEN BEFORE I RETURNED FROM WASHINGTON CONSULTATIONS AND BEFORE WE HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO MEET AGAIN.

IN ESSENCE, MEETING CONSISTED OF MUTUAL RESTATEMENTS OF TWO GOVERNMENTS' POSITIONS, WITH ECEVIT SAYING THAT DECISION TO REMOVE BAN HAD NOT YET BEEN TAKEN BECAUSE OF USG CONCERNS, BUT EVENTUALLY WOULD HAVE TO BE, AND WITH MY REEMPHASIZING THAT BAN RECISION OF ANY KIND UNACCEPTABLE TO USG AND CONSTITUTED A MAJOR THREAT TO USG-GOT RELATIONSHIPS.

IN FACE OF ECEVIT INTRANSIGENCE THERE WAS LITTLE IN MEETING WHICH GIVES ME MUCH ENCOURAGEMENT, OTHER THAN (A) ECEVIT OBVIOUSLY NOT YET PREPARED TO BITE THE BULLET, AND (B) WE APPEAR TO BE GAINING SOME ADDITIONAL TIME TO CONTINUE BRING PRESSURE OF USG VIEWS TO BEAR ON VARIOUS QUARTERS OF GOVERNMENT HERE. END SUMMARY AND COMMENT.

1. ONE AND A QUARTER HOUR MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT MAY 6 BEGAN WITH MY READING PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE (STATE 092323) VERBATIM. I THEN TOLD PRIME MINISTER IN FRANKEST TERMS OF MY GROWING CONCERN REGARDING POTENTIAL CONGRESSIONAL REACTION TO ANY TURKISH RECISION OF BAN. I SAID IT IMPORTANT FOR HIM TO UNDERSTAND THAT, TO BEST OF MY JUDGMENT, RECISION OF BAN HIGHLY LIKELY TO PRECIPITATE SERIOUS CRISIS IN US-TURKISH RELATIONS--AND I ADDED THAT AS DIPLOMAT, ID DID NOT USE WORD "CRISIS" LIGHTLY.

2. I ALSO DISCUSSED GOT'S REQUEST FOR TRANSFER OF FINAL \$5 MILLION FOR PAYMENTS TO FARMERS. DRAWING ON STATE 86717 AND TUPPER BROWN MEMORANDUM OF APRIL 23, I SPELLED OUT BASIS FOR US CONVICTION THAT BINDING USG-GOT AGREEMENT EXISTED AND WOULD BEE UNILATERALLY BREACHED IF TURKEY RESCINDS POPPY BAN. I HANDED PRIME MINISTER COPIES OF HANDLEY'S LETTER OF JULY 1971 AND ESENBEL'S 1971 AIDE MEMOIRE AND ASKED HIM TO REVIEW THESE HIMSELF. I THEN REPEATED OTHER BASIC ARGUMENTS AGAINST BAN RECISION, NAMELY THAT IT WOULD BRING MINOR BENEFITS TO LEGITIMATE FARMERS, A BONANZA TO TURKISH CROOKS, AND MAJOR SETBACK TO CONFIDENTIAL

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USG EFFORTS TO COMBAT HERION MENACE.

3. I ACKNOWLEDGED THAT LATTER TWO POINTS MIGHT NOT BE VALID IF EFFECTIVE ENFORCEMENT CONTROLS COULD BE ESTABLISHED, BUT I REITERATED CONVICTION OF US AND INTERNATIONAL EXPERTS THAT THIS NOT FULLY FEASIBLE UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES AND CERTAINLY NET EVEN PARTIALLY FEASIBLE IN THE TIME PERIOD GOT APPARENTLY CONTEMPLATING. I URGED PRIME MINISTER TO CONSULT WITH HIS OWN SENIOR POLICE

EXPERTS WHO, I SAID, WOULD CONFIRM POINT I HAD JUST MADE. I SUGGESTED THAT IT WOULD BE EVEN MORE USEFUL FROM HIS POINT OF VIEW TO MEET PRIVATELY WITH DEA ADMINISTRATOR BARTELS, WHOSE SERIOUS CONCERN OVER PROSPECTS OF BAN RECISION HAD BROUGHT HIM CURRENTLY TO ANKARA FOR CONSULTATIONS WITH ME AND OTHER EMBASSY OFFICIALS.

4. I NOTED THAT TURKEY HAD ORIGINALLY BEEN PRODUCER OF OPIUM GUM ONLY, BUT IN LATE 1950'S AND 60'S IT HAD ADDED MORPHINE BASE TO ITS REPERTOIRE. REFERRING TO RECENT DISCOVERY OF HEROIN LAB IN USAK PROVINCE AND TO POLICE BELIEF THAT A NUMBER OF OTHER SUCH LABS NOW EXIST WITHIN THE COUNTRY, I MADE POINT THAT TURKEY NOW MOVING TO THIRD PHASE AND BECOMING HEROIN PRODUCER ITSELF. I SAID THAT IF THESE LABS COULD EXIST HERE AT TIME WHEN OPIUM GROWING SUSPENDED, IT NOT HARD TO IMAGINE EXPANSION THIS ACTIVITY WOULD UNDERGO IF POPPIES BECAME READILY AVAILABLE AGAIN.

5. I AGAIN URGED THAT GOT PURSUE WORLD BANK ALTERNATIVE AND REFERRED TO AIDE MEMOIRE I HAD LEFT WITH FOREIGN MINISTER ON THIS SUBJECT. I REEMPHASIZED USG CONVICTION THAT THIS REPRESENTED FAR PREFERABLE SOLUTION TO PLIGHT OF POPPY FARMER WHILE AVOIDING GRAVE RISKS THAT RECISION PRESENTED TO OUR RELATIONSHIP.

6. IN RESPONSE, THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THE PRESIDENT'S CONCERN, THAT HIS OWN CONCERN AND THAT OF THE WHOLE TURKISH PEOPLE ABOUT THE PREVIOUS MISUSE OF OPIUM IS NOT LESS THAN THAT OF THE PRESIDENT. (HE ADDED THAT IF TURKEY WAS NOT SO CONCERNED IT WOULD NOT INCUR SO MANY COMPLAINTS REGARDING THE HARSH
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ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 IO-03 ISO-00 NEA-06 SS-20 NSC-07 NSCE-00 L-02

CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 AID-10 SNM-01 DEAE-00

TRSE-00 DODE-00 IGA-01 PM-03 H-01 SP-01 AGR-03 JUSE-00

DRC-01 /081 W
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R 071440Z MAY 74
FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3963
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMCONSUL ADANA
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
AMCONSUL IZMIR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ANKARA 3455

LIMDIS

10. HE REPEATED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THE SENSITIVITY OF THE PRESIDENT AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO THIS PROBLEM, BUT HE EMPHASIZED THAT WE MUST UNDERSTAND THE TURKISH CONCERNS. TURKEY FEELS THAT THE AMERICAN MUST ACCEPT SOME TURKISH POPPY GROWING PROVIDED THE CONTROLS ARE EFFECTIVE. "WE WILL DO ANYTHING YOU WANT TO GIVE YOU THE ASSURANCES YOU NEED," HE SAID. I RESPONDED WRYLY THAT THIS MIGHT MEAN GROWING ON A SINGLE PLOT "THE SIZE OF THIS OFFICE BUILDING, AND EVEN THAT SURROUNDED BY AN ARMY." "WE ARE PREPARED TO DO THAT," HE REPLIED.

11. ECEVIT THEN REPEATED TO ME WHAT HE AND FOREIGN MINISTER GUNES HAVE BEEN LATELY SAYING IN THE PRESS, NAMELY THAT NO GOVERNMENT WOULD EVER LIMIT ITS SOVEREIGN RIGHT OF DECISION IN A MATTER SUCH AS GROWING POPPIES THROUGH AN AGREEMENT WITH ANOTHER GOVERNMENT. I EXPRESSED SURPRISE AT THIS COMMENT, NOTING THAT GOVERNMENTS OFTEN, AND QUITE NORMALLY, AGREE TO LIMIT THE EXERCISE OF THEIR SOVEREIGN AUTHORITY THROUGH AGREEMENTS WITH ONE ANOTHER.

12. LATER IN CONVERSATION ECEVIT APPEARED TO ACKNOWLEDGE FOR FIRST TIME THAT AN AGREEMENT ON POPPY MATTER, TO SOME EXTENT, EXISTED.

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HE ATTEMPTED TO ARGUE, HOWEVER, THAT AGREEMENT INVOLVED MONIES TO BE PAID (WHICH WE OF COURSE WERE FREE TO STOP ONCE A BAN REVISION WAS TAKEN) BUT THAT TURKISH DECISION TO BAN WAS UNILATERAL--AND THUS COULD BE RESCINDED UNILATERALLY. IN RESPONSE I AGAIN EMPHASIZED THAT WHILE PUBLIC RECORD WAS DELIBERATELY MADE TO LOOK AS THOUGH BAN WAS UNILATERAL ACTION, NEGOTIATING RECORD, HANDLEY LETTER AND ESENBEL DOCUMENT CLEARLY ESTABLISHED BAN AND PAYMENT WERE COMBINED IN BINDING TURKISH-US AGREEMENT. I ENDED THIS PORTION OF OUR CONVERSATION BY (A) STRESSING THAT PAYMENTS WERE FOR "TRANSITION," NOT SIMPLY A YEARLY STIPEND FOR EACH YEAR THE BAN EXISTED, AND (B) THAT THE BREACH OF AN AGREEMENT IS A SIGNIFICANT MATTER INDEED IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES.

13. I EXPRESSED MY DISCOURAGEMENT WITH THE LINE HIS RESPONSE HAD TAKEN, AS IT INDICATED TO ME THAT I HAD NOT GOTTEN ACROSS TO HIM ADEQUATELY THE SERIOUS DESCENDING SPIRAL IN US-TURKISH RELATIONS WHICH I BELIEVED WOULD INEVITABLY RESULT IF GOT EMBARKED ON ANY REVISION OF THE BAN. IN ANY NORMAL BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP, I SAID, THERE CAN BE PROBLEMS WHICH BRUISE BOTH SIDES WITHOUT CAUSING MAJOR DAMAGE TO THE RELATIONSHIP, BUT THIS POPPY PROBLEM COULD REALLY GET OUT OF HAND, AND I CONCERNED THAT HE DID NOT YET FULLY SENSE THIS. I REFERRED TO AN ELEMENT OF "SELF-DECEPTION" WITHIN GOT, TO EFFECT THAT SOMEHOW IT COULD PROCEED WITH BAN REVISION AND NOT SUFFER CONSEQUENCES OF WHICH I WAS SPEAKING.

14. WITH RESPECT TO TURKISH INABILITY TO MAKE PHILOSOPHICAL

DISTINCTION BETWEEN HARD AND SOFT DRUGS, I SAID THAT NOW THERE WERE PRESENCE OF HEROIN LABS IN TURKEY, BEFORE VERY LONG THERE WOULD BE HEROIN ABUSE PROBLEM IN TURKEY, AND AT THAT POINT TURKS WOULD HAVE NO TROUBLE IN MAKING DISTINCTION BETWEEN DRUGS.

15. PRIME MINISTER THEN MADE STRONG COMPLAINT OVER STATEMENTS OF AMERICAN CONGRESSMEN AND SPECIFICALLY TOOK EXCEPTION TO UNFAIR ABUSE OF TURKISH PEOPLE AND TO THREATS OF AID CUTOFFS. HE SAID THIS BADLY HURT SITUATION HERE. I POINTED OUT THAT ORATORY FROM TURKISH PARLIAMENT WAS AT LEAST AS HOSTILE AND THAT IT WAS JUST THIS TYPE OF MUTUALLY DAMAGING INTERPARLIAMENTARY DIALOGUE WHICH THREATENED TO SET OFF DESCENDING SPIRAL IN OUR RELATIONS. THIS PHASE OF OUR CONVERSATION ENDED WITH PRIME MINISTER NOTING THAT MILITARY ASSISTANCE WAS GIVEN IN MUTUAL DEFENSE INTEREST OF THE TWO COUNTRIES AND THAT TURKEY'S OWN EXPENDITURES IN THIS AREA, CONFIDENTIAL
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AGAIN FOR OUR MUTUAL BENEFIT, WERE EXTREMELY HEAVY.

16. PRIME MINISTER COMPLAINED AGAIN RE US ATTITUDE REGARDING INDIAN VERSUS TURKISH POPPY PRODUCTION. I AGAIN REVIEWED DIFFERENCES IN TWO SITUATIONS
ALONG LINES WITH WHICH DEPARTMENT FULLY FAMILIAR--INCLUDING FACT THAT INDIAN PRODUCTION DOES NOT THREATEN TO REESTABLISH ALMOST DISMANTLED "FRENCH CONNECTION". PRIME MINISTER COMPLAINED ABOUT TURKEY'S HAVING TO BE "ONLY COUNTRY" NOT ALLOWED TO GROW POPPIES. I SAID TURKEY WAS LEADER IN MOVEMENT TO GET RESPECTABLE COUNTRIES WITH CONTROL PROBLEMS OUT OF THIS BUSINESS, AND ACTIONS OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN THIS REGARD WERE GOING TO BE HEAVILY DEPENDENT ON WHICH WAY TURKEY WENT. I REPEATED MY BELIEF THAT BEST INTERESTS OF OPIUM FARMER WOULD BE SERVED BY WORLD BANK-LED INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT EFFORT IN POPPY REGION, AND I SAID THAT I COULD NOT BELIEVE THAT SUCH A SOLUTION WAS NOT SALEABLE ON TURKISH DOMESTIC POLITICAL SCENE. IT SEEMED TO BE THAT WHAT WAS CALLED FOR WAS A PILOT PROJECT WHICH WOULD SHOW THE WORLD WHAT COULD BE DON IN A FORMER POPPY GROWING AREA. ECEVIT RESPONDED, "WE HAD HOPED THE US AND OTHERS WOULD COOPERATE TO ESTABLISH EFFECTIVE CONTROL SYSTEM AND TO SET A WORLD EXAMPLE IN THAT WAY."

17 I BROUGHT THE CONVERSATION TO A CLOSE BY ASKING WHETHER HE HAD NOT ALREADY IN EFFECT MADE HIS BASIC DECISION. HE REPLIED IN THE NEGATIVE. WHILE CONVINCED THAT PROPER SURVEILLANCE PROCEDURES COULD BE DEvised, THESE HAD NOT YET BEEN SETTLED UPON AND THEREFORE, HE REPEATED, DECISION HAD NOT BEEN TAKEN. HE ADDED GOT STILL WAITING AND HOPING FOR US ASSISTANCE IN THIS AREA.

18. IN THIS CONNECTION HE SAID HIS SCHEDULE PREVENTED HIS MEETING PERSONALLY WITH ADMINISTRATOR BARTELS, BUT HE BELIEVED IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR HIM TO MEET WITH GOT OFFICIAL OR OFFICIALS WORKING WITH HIM ON PROBLEM OF CONTROL AND HE WOULD SEEK TO ARRANGE THIS.

I SAID I WOULD AGREE, AND ADMINISTRATOR BARTELS, I WAS SURE, WOULD AGREE, TO SUCH A MEETING PROVIDED IT WAS CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THAT THE WILLINGNESS TO BE INVOLVED IN A DISCUSSION OF CONTROLS IN NO SENSE IMPLIED THAT BASIC US POSITION OF OPPOSITION TO ANY POPPY GROWING AT ALL WAS BEING ALTERED. (MEETING WAS SUBSEQUENTLY ARRANGED FOR AFTERNOON OF MAY 7 WITH YUKSEL SOYLEMEZ, DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DEPARTMENT, MFA. SOYLEMEZ
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IS MFA'S EXPERT ON POPPY MATTERS AND REPUTED TO BE ONE OF THE PROFESSIONAL DIPLOMATS MOST CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH PRIME MINISTER)

19. I ASKED FOR ASSURANCE THAT GOT WOULD NOT TAKE DECISION DURING MY FORTHCOMING ABSENCE OCCASIONED BY CENTO MEETING AND WASHINGTON CONSULTATION. HE GAVE ME THIS ASSURANCE AND SAID NO DECISION WOULD BE TAKEN UNTIL WE HAD OPPORTUNITY TO TALK AGAIN. I ASKED WHETHER, AS OFTEN ALLEGED, TURKISH LAW REQUIRED THAT DECISION BE MADE ONE WAY OR ANOTHER BY JUNE 30. HE SAID HE HAD NEVER HEARD OF THIS AND, WHILE HE WOULD CHECK ON IT, HE DOUBTED THAT A REQUIREMENT OF THIS KIND WAS BINDING ON THE GOVERNMENT.

20. CONVERSATION THEN TURNED TO AMNESTY MATTERS AND GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS, BEING REPORTED SEPTELS.
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